Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

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FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9817

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY KAULA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL MEDAN

AMCONSUL SURABAYA

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EO 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT PFOR ECON ID

SUBJ: PRESIDENT SUHARTO'S STATE ADDRESS

REF: JAKARTA 10043

BEGIN SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION: PRESIDENT SUHARTO
DELIVERED ANNUAL STATE ADDRESS AT OPENING OF 1975-76
PARLIAMENT SESSION AUGUST 16. TWO HOUR SPEECH, DELIVERED
IN CLASIC SUHARTO MONOTONE, FEATURED PHILOSOPHICAL
REVIEW OF INDONESIAN POLITICS AND LENGTHLY DISCOURSE ON
FAVORITE SUHARTO PANCASILA AND NATIONAL RESILIENCE THEMES.
INTERSPERSED COMMENTS ON VARIOUS TOPICS OF CURRENT
INTEREST LARGELY STANDARD SUHARTO FORMULATIONS
OF GOI POLICY, WITH FOLLOWING NOTEWORTHY POINTS AND
EMPHASES:

A. SUHARTO MENTIONED PRC SUPPORT FOR OUTLAWED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY WAS CONSTITUTING "OBSTACLE"

TO RESTORATION OF GOI-PRC RELATITONS, THUS RECONFIRMING INDONESIAN LACK OF INTEREST IN EARLY RESTORATION.

B. SUHARTO SAID INDONESIA'S MAIN DEFENSE NEEDS
REMAINED SURVEILLANCE AND CAPABILITY AND FORCE MOBILITY
RATHER THAN "BOMBERS AND BATTLESHIPS," OR OTHER "MODERN
ARMAMENTS" WHICH GOI NEITHER NEEDED NOR COULD AFFORD,
SUGGESTING HE WOULD NOT AGREE TO VAST INCREASE IN MILITARY
BUDGET FOR POST VIETNAM PERIOD.

C. SUHARTO STRESSED CONTINUING PRIMACY OF DEVELOP-MENT IN NATONAL POLICY, PARTICULARLY NEED FOR EQUITABLE DIS-TRIBUTION OF FRUITS OF DEVELOPMENT, AND CONTINUED WILLINGNESS OF GOI TO ACCEPT LESS CONCESSIONAL ASSISTANCE TERMS FROM BOTH IGGI AND SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

D. SUHARTO ACKNOWLEDGED PERTAMINA CRISIS, CALLING IT "LESSON" FOR INDONESIA ON IMPORTANCE OF EFFICIENT FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT, BUT SOUGHT TO DAMPEN SPECULATION ABOUT PERTAMINA SITUATON BY STRESSING THAT PROBLEM WAS NOT "POLITICAL", ONLY FINANCIAL.

E. SUHARTO REITERATED, IN SOMEWHAT STRONGER TERMS THAN PREVIOUSLY, GOI GOAL OF "ECONOMIC NATIONALISM" AND INSISTENCE THAT FOREIGN ECONOMIC PRESENCE AND ROLE BE SUBORDINATED TO INDONESIAN NATIONAL NEEDS. END SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION. END LIMITED OFFICIAL USE--BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

1. FIRST HALF HOUR OF SPEECH DEVOTED TO SUHARTO ANALYSIS OF "PAST SHORTCOMINGS AND FAILURES" IN INDONESIAN POLITICAL/ECONOMIC HISTORY. SUHARTO DESCRIBED DECADE OF 50'S AS PERIOD OF "BAD LIBERAL PRACTICES," TOO MANY PARTIES, REBELLIOUS CONDUCT, ETC. SUHARTO STATED THAT RETURN TO 1945 CONSTITUTION AND PANCASILA PHILOSPPHY IN 60'S WAS CORRUPTED BY FLIRTING WITH COMMUNISM AND INTERNATIONAL LEANING "TOWARDS ONE OF THE BLOCS." SUHARTO ATTRIBUTED LACK OF INDONESIAN PROGRESS IN FIRST 20 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE TO INDONESIA'S OWN FAULTS AND WEAKNESSES AND SAID CURRENT NEED IS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BACKED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BY STABILITY AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT WHICH INDONESIAN RATHER THAN ALIEN IN CHARACTER.

2. SUHARTO REVIEWED CURRENT "FOREIGN ENVIRNMENT,"
NOTING CHANGING WORLD CONDITIONS WITH END OF COLD WAR
AND INCREASED ECONOMIC ROLE OF THIRD WORLD. HE NOTED
FAVORABLY DETENTE AND HELSINKI MEETING. HE PLEDGED
CONTINUED INDONESAN PURSUIT OF FREE AND ACTIVE FOREIGN

POLICY, BUT STRESSED THAT EFFORTS TO RESOLVE CURRENT WORLD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CAUSED BY OLD ECONOMIC ORDER REQUIRED "DETERMINATION TO OVERCOME PROBLEMS COOPERATIVELY" AND AVOIDANCE OF CONFRONTATION, "WHICH WOULD ONLY AGGRAVATE THE SITUATION." HE CITED PARTICULARLY EFFORT TO CREATE NIEO, WHICH HE NOTED REQUIRED "COURAGE" TO CREATE NEW SYSTEM PLACING ALL NATIONS ON EQUAL FOOTING. HE PARISED ASEAN AS MODEL OF COOPERATIVE APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

3. SUHARTO WELCOMED TERMINATION OF INDOCHINA WAR AND STATED INDONESIAN DESIRE FOR FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH NATIONS OF REGION INCLUDING THOSE WITH "DIFFERENT SOCIAL OR POLITICAL SYSTEMS." HE STRESSED THAT SUCH WILLINGNESS PREDICATED ON LACK OF OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN INDONESIAN AFFAIRS, AND STATED THAT INDONESIA REGARDS AS "UNFRIENDLY" ACTION BY OTHER STATES WHICH HARBOR FORMER INDONESIAN COMMUNIST LEADERS OR ENDORSE REVIVAL OF INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.SUHARTO SAID THIS WAS ONE OF PRESENT "OBSTACLES" TO RESUMING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PRC. SUHARTO SAID FURTHER THAT GOI REJECTS"WARS OF LIBERATION" IF THESE ARE PRETEXT FOR INSURGENCIES AGAINST LEGAL AUTHORITIES, ALTHOUGH INDONESIA FULLY SUPPORTS DECOLONIZATION, INCLUDING PROCESS CURRENTLY UNDERWAY IN NEIGHBORING PORTUGUESE TIMOR(PT). (SEE REFTEL FOR ADDITIONAL SUHARTO COMMENTS ON PT SITUATION.)

4. MAJOR PORTION OF SPEECH DEVOTED TO INDONESIAN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. SUHARTO STATED THAT INDONESIA'S PRESENT TASK PRIMARILY TO PUT ITS OWN HOUSE IN ORDER, WHICH WILL BE LENGTHLY PROCESS REQUIRING DECADES (FIVE TO SIX FIVE-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLANS"). HE STRESSED THAT INDONESIA SHOULD NOT "EXPECT THE IMPOSSIBLE," BUT SHOULD BE CONTENT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WITH STEADY PROGRESS.

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5. SUHARTO THEN GAVE LENGTHLY DISSERTATION ON IMPORTANCE OF INDONESIAN STATE PHILOSOPHY PANCASILA AS BASIC UNDER-PINING FOR INDONESIAN MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT AND ON RELATED DOCTRINE OF "NATIONAL RESILIENCE" AS KEY TO SUCCESSFUL RESISTANCE OF CONTINUING DANGER OF INTERNAL SUBVERSION. HE DISCUSSED HIS APPEAL TO VARIOUS INDONESIAN INSTITUTIONS AND GROUPS TO ASSIST IN FORMULATING "SIMPLE AND CLEAR" DEFINITION OF PANCASILA TO ENABLE WIDESPREAD UNDERSTANDING OF CONCEPT. HE DESCRIBED "PANCASILA SOCIETY" AS "SOCIALIST-RELIGIOUS" IN NATURE AND STATED THAT CONCEPT EXCLUDES "POVERTY, BACKWARDNESS, EXPLOITATION, CAPITALISM, DICTATORSHIP, COLONIALISM AND FEUDALISM." END UNCLASSIFIED BEGIN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

6. COMMENT: LARGE PORTION OF PARLIAMENTARY AUDIENCE BECAME VISIBLY RESTLESS DURING HALF HOUR SUHARTO EXPOSTU-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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LATION ON PANCASILA AND NATIONAL RESILIENCE, WHICH HAVE BEEN CONSISTENT AND REPETITIVE THEMES OF SUHARTO PRONOUNCEMENTS OVER PAST YEAR. END COMMENT. END LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

7. DURING REMAINDER OF SPEECH, SUHARTO DESCRIBED PROGRSS AND CHALLANGES OF NATIONAL RESILIENCE IN VARIOUS FIELDS,

INSERTING FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON CURRENT ISSUES.

A. HE DENIED THAT POST-JANUARY 1974 GOVERNMENT
MEASURES TO PRESERVE LAW AND ORDER CONSTITUTE "LIMITATION
ON FREEDOM." HE STRESSED THAT LAW VIOLATORS FROM JANUARY
1974 PERIOD "HAVE BEEN DEALT WITH AND LAWFULLY SENTENCED"
AND "RESPONSIBLE FREEDOM" WOULD BE ALLOWED BUT ABUSES OF
FREEDOMS WOULD BE PREVENTED.

B. SUHARTO COMPLIMENTED PARLIAMENT ON PASSAGE (AUGUSUT 14) OF POLITICAL PARTIES BILL, THOUGH HE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT AT LENGTH OF TIME REQUIRED TO PASS BILL. HE CITED PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES AS MANIFESTATION OF "RESPOBSIBLE FREEDOM," EVEN THOUGH DEBATES FEATURED SHARP CRITICISMS AND HAD AT TIMES "EMBARASSED" CABINET MINISTERS.

C. HE STRSSED NEED FOR CAREFUL PREPARATIONS IN ADVANCE OF 1977 GENERAL ELECTIONS.

D.SUHARTO REPEATED CALL FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF INTER-RELIGIOUS CONSULTATIVE BODY, TO INCLUDE MYSTICAL MOVEMENTS AS WELL AS REPRESENTATIVES OF WORLD RELIGIONS. SUHARTO CALLED FOR PROMOTION OF NATIONAL AND REGIONAL CULTURE AND AVOIDANCE OF "UNSUITABLE" FOREIGN ART AND CULTURE.

E. IN DEFENSE FIELD, SUHARTO EMPHASIZED THAT INDONESIAN DEFENSE NEEDS REQUIRE MOBILITY AND SURVEILLANCE SYSTEMS RATHER THAN "GIANT BOMBERS OR HUGE BATTLESHIPS," AND THAT INDONESIA WOULD CONTINUE DEFENSE POLICIES AND DOCTRINES ALREADY IN EFFECT.

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F. SUHARTO RENEWED PLEA FOR SIMPLE LIVING STANDARD AND AVOIDANCE OF LUXURIOUS LIFE STYLES, NOTING THAT THIS WOULD NOT ONLY ADD TO NATIONAL SAVINGS BUT AVOID EXACERBATION OF SOCIAL DISPARITY AND UNREST.

G. SUHARTO NOTED CONTINUING INDONESIAN DESIRE FOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AS SUPPLEMENT TO NATIONAL CAPITAL AND SKILLS, AS WELL AS INDONESIAN CAPABILITY OF ACCEPTING LESS CONCESSIONAL ASSISTANCE IN CURRENT PERIOD DUE TO IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. HE STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAF FOEEIGN LOANS AND CAPITAL SHOULD BE USED FOR WORTH-WHILE PROJECTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES AND THAT CONTINUING LONG TERM INDONESIAN GOAL REMAINED ECONOMIC NATIONALISM, CONCLUDING: "WE WANT TO BE MOVER IN OUR OWN HOUSE." HE ALSO STATED THAT FOREIGN

INVESTMENT AND ASSISTANCE SHOULD NOT ENTAIL INTERFERENCE IN DOMESTIC POLITIAAL AFFAIRS, AND THAT FOREIGN INVESTMENT ACTIVITIES SHOULD GRADUALLY BE INTEGRATED WITH INDONESIAN MANAGEMENT AND OWNERSHIP.

H. SUHARTO SAID PERTAMINA CRISIS OFFERED USEFUL
LESSON TO INDONESIA OF NEED FOR EFFICIENCY IN MANAGEMENT
OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND
FINANCE. HE ALSO
STRESSED THAT THERE "NO POLITICAL ASPECTS" BEHIND
PERTAMINA DIFFICULTIES OR GOVERNMENT RESPONSES TO PERTAMINA
CRISIS.

8. IN CONCLUDING SECTIONS OF SPEECH SUHARTO GAVE HEAVY EMPHASIS TO TANGIBLE ECONOMIC PROGRESS ALREADY ACHEIVED BY INDONSIA (INCLUDING ORDINARY INDONESIANS) UNDER NEW ORDER REGIME TO DATE, AS WELL AS NECESSITY FOR FURTHER PROGRESS AND PARTICULARLY FOR EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF BENEFITS OF DEVELOPMENT AND IMPROVEMENTS IN WAY OF LIFE AND WELFARE OF COMMON PEOPLE. END UNCALSSIFIED BEGIN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE.

9. COMMENT: OVERALL TONE OF SUHARTO SPEECH PROBABLY MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN ANY SEPCIFIC SUNSTANTIVE COMMENTS. EMPHASIS ON HOSTORICAL INTROPSECTION, IMPORTANCE OF PANCASILA PHILOSPPHY AS BASIS FOR INDONESIAN DEVELOPMENT, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND REPEATED REFERENCES TO NECESSITY TO AVOID FOREIGN INCLUENCE OR CONTROL OVER INDONESIAN DESTINY SEEM TO REFLECT ORENEWED GOI DETERMINATION TO STRENGTHEN SENSE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND UNITY AS MEANS OF RESISTING DANGER OF SUBVERSION IN POST VIETNAM PERIOD. ALTHOUGH PRIMARY FEAR OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE ALSO IMPORTANTLY INCLUDES FREEDOM FROM CONSPICUOUS WESTERN INFLUENCE, WHICH SEEN BOTH AS UNDERMINING DISCIPLINE OF TRADITIONAL INDONESIAN CULTURE AND AS CRETATING EASY TARGET FOR COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA. SUHARTO STRESS ON THIS THEME SUGGESTS THAT RECENT TREND TOWARD ACCELERATED "INDONESIANIZATION" OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC PRESENCE AND TOWARD LESSENING OF WESTERN INFLUECNE IN MEDIA AND OTHER CULTURAL AND ACADEMIC FIELDS CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE OVER COMING PERIOD.

 $10.\ \mbox{FULL}$ TEXT OF STATE ADDRESS BEING POUCHED EA/IMS. NEWSOM

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